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document of this and of any age since the time of Him whose last political direction was 'Put up thy sword.'"

"It would be easy to put back the disarmament of Christian nations another generation or another century by unworthy scepticism or unchristian indifference to the royal deed of this young emperor." "What is the Christian press doing to acknowledge this great claim upon its conscience and its power? It ought to ring from sect to sect and thrill from column to column with the magnificent chance which fate has put into its hands. Shall brute slaughter be expelled by the law of love, and no thanks to the religious classes or the religious journals? Shall Russia be missionary to American citizens? Shall the despot shame the Republic?"

Alas! that Mrs. Ward's questions must be answered as they must! The religious classes and journals of this country, and great masses of the citizens of the great Republic are so busied with the "glory" of arms and the purpose to help the nation to hold territories won by the unchristian law of conquest that they have little thought or space for the most Christian proposition ever made in the whole history of international policies. The Republic undoubtedly sympathizes with the Czar's proposition, but the course which she is just now taking will put the biggest of all difficulties in the way of its realization. If a nation like this must put sixty million dollars into its navy in the immediate future and during the next twelve months spend in the development of its army as much as the annual expenditure of the most military nation of the Old World, what sense, pray, is there in talking of reduction of armaments anywhere?

Mr. Stead's Proposed Pilgrimage of Peace.

Mr. William T. Stead, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, has done an immense service in helping to bring about the conditions of public opinion necessary to make the forthcoming Conference called by the Czar a success. He has made a trip to Russia and had two interviews with Nicholas II, and has thus been able to remove from the mind of the civilized world all doubt as to the real and earnest wish of the young Emperor to accomplish what he has proposed in his rescript. He has published also the re-assuring fact that three of the ablest of the Russian ministers who are closest to the Czar are heart and soul with him.

The success of the Conference Mr. Stead declares will depend very much upon the unanimity and enthusiasm with which public sentiment manifests itself from now till the time when the Conference meets in the early spring. In order to call out, concentrate and fittingly manifest public sentiment, he has pro-

posed (see the *Review of Reviews* for December) a Pilgrimage of Peace to be participated in by the United States, Great Britain, the great powers of the European Continent and seven of the smaller powers. This Pilgrimage is to be organized by National Committees named by Local Committees in all the prominent cities of the nations. The Pilgrimage shall start with a deputation of ten from the United States, carrying the President's blessing with it from Washington. It shall be re-enforced by a like deputation in Great Britain. Then it shall go to Paris after having been increased by one delegate each from the seven smaller powers. From Paris with ten leading Frenchmen added to the deputation the proposal is to cross to Berlin, and then to Vienna and Buda-Pesth, and Rome, fresh Pilgrims joining the procession at all these points. In all the points where the Pilgrimage passes there are to be receptions and speeches and public demonstrations in favor of disarmament and peace, and as far as possible similar demonstrations in all other centers.

Mr. Stead's idea is that when the Pilgrimage reaches St. Petersburg and appears before the Czar it shall be able to demonstrate to him "how passionately the people desire peace, how enthusiastically they have responded to his initiative, and how emphatically they bid him stand firm in the name of 'God and the people' and achieve this great good for humanity."

How much of this scheme, if any, shall be carried out, we are not able at this writing to say. It would be a magnificent thing, if it could be done. The proposal has aroused increased interest in the Conference, and public opinion is expressing itself more and more widely as the time of the meeting draws near. Messages of approval from organizations of many kinds have continued to reach Emperor Nicholas from all quarters of the world. He ought to know by this time, both from the official and the private approval accorded his initiative, that the heart of the world is with him. We hope he may be able to impart his own sincerity and earnestness of purpose to all the distinguished men who shall sit in the Conference—and we believe that he will.

There is one fear we have about the Conference—just one—and that is this everlasting talk about the maintenance of the *status quo*. Mr. Stead himself falls into this and thus greatly vitiates what he says. "The supremacy of the British fleet will receive international recognition as one of the fundamental elements of the *status quo*." No, no, Mr. Stead. The Conference will never recognize any such thing. If you go into the Conference, your English delegates, determined to maintain the *status quo* of the British fleet, you will kill the whole thing in less than a minute. The other nations are not going to concede to any one nation a supremacy which will forever

thereafter make them inferior. They ought not to do so. Such talk is the talk of a man of war and not of a man of peace. It is the *status quo* which is crushing and ruining the nations. The purpose of the Czar can never be reached if the *status quo* is long to be maintained. The *status quo* must be gotten rid of. That is what the Czar wants, and it is what all humane people want—the beginning, be it never so small, of disarmament.

The Treaty and the Philippines.

The treaty of peace with Spain has arrived at Washington and will be sent to the Senate immediately after the holiday recess. According to the text of it which has been published, Spain by the treaty *cedes* to the United States the Philippines, as well as Porto Rico and the other Spanish West Indies except Cuba, the sovereignty of which she *renounces*.

The prospect is that the treaty will be taken up immediately and pushed to a vote, with every probability at the present time that it will be ratified. A few Senators are strongly opposed to ratification and will hold out to the last, but the Senate as a whole seems inclined to ratify it with little delay.

The Administration, judging from all indications, is determined that ratification shall mean annexation. The treaty is drawn that way. Everybody, of course, wants peace with Spain ratified, and every Senator would like to vote that way, but the treaty is so drawn that no one can vote for the ratification of the peace without at the same time voting for annexation. Much is said about ratifying first and then determining what disposition shall be made of the Philippines. But that is a mere ruse. When the treaty is ratified, if that little word *cedes* remains in it, the Philippines will be from that instant as much an integral part of the United States territory as Alaska or California or Massachusetts. It is a very clever stroke of the annexationists to want to get the thing ratified first, for the sake of the peace, and the question of disposition considered afterwards. What will there be to consider afterwards, except the manner of government? If the Administration had honestly meant that the question of disposition should remain an open one after ratification, it could very easily have had the word "renounce" used instead of "cede." It is this consideration which will justify all those Senators who are opposed to the extension of United States sovereignty over the Philippines in voting against the treaty in its present form, even though formal peace with Spain may have to wait a little. We wish that at least a third of them might have the clearness of vision and the courage to do so. There is no more danger of war now with Spain; the danger of

war and of one knows not how many other evils lies in the other direction.

However, even though the ratification of the treaty will annex the Philippines and make it much harder afterwards to undo what ought not to have been done, we do not yet despair that final and permanent sovereignty over them by this country will be ultimately refused.

Many Senators who will vote for ratification are opposed absolutely to such sovereignty. The subject will be taken up and discussed with great thoroughness when the question of permanent government of the far away islands comes up. Meanwhile, throughout the country, discussion of the subject goes on with increasing earnestness. It is the one engrossing topic of thought and of speech. The anti-imperialist agitation is gaining strength every day. The labor organizations are declaring against the military burdens and tyrannies which imperialist control of 8,000,000 of vassals on the other side of the globe will impose. The nation is being "shaken" and tested as never before in its history, and we cannot yet believe that when it has time to think it will deny itself and turn deliberately away from its political history and principles to a form of semi-tyrannical political control of vassal peoples which belongs to the past and not to the future.

It is not true, as is clamored by the expansionists in a last effort to beat down their opponents, that the anti-annexationists have nothing constructive to offer. If they offered nothing constructive, they would still be less blameworthy than those who offer that which is chiefly destructive. But what is it they propose? That the Philippines, who clearly wish to be free, should be helped to be free. That the United States, alone or with the coöperation of other civilized countries, should aid them in setting up and maintaining a government for themselves, through a period of twenty-five or fifty years, if need be. The anti-annexationists declare that if we can annex the islands and control them in the face of the rest of world, we can with just as much ease, with vastly less expense, with no denial of our political principles, with infinitely greater advantage to civilization and without plunging into a bottomless abyss of devouring militarism, help them to train themselves to self-government. It is the purest begging of the question to say that the Philipinos are incapable of self-government in some form. They have never had the opportunity to try it. If it is our duty to give them a stable government, it is our duty to make that government such as shall secure their freedom moral and political. The United States has no mission to go about the world establishing over unwilling peoples government whose stability is founded on the sword and on political inequality. Tyranny, under no matter what profession, is tyranny still. To attempt to solve the problem now pre-